

THIRTY-FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

February, 1869.

1869.

PHILADELPHIA:

MERRIHEW & SON, PINTERS,
No. 313 Arch Street.
1867.

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REPORT.

An important element of success in any conflict is a correct estimate of the forces to be opposed. A careful survey of the situation is a profitable study at the close of one year of labor and the commencement of another. It is wise to look all our difficulties and dangers in the face, and recount all our victories, neither exaggerating or under-estimating one or the other. Thus shall we be able to enter intelligently, hopefully and valiantly on the work before us. Our ardent hope outran our judgment when we fancied that the close of four years of war would consummate our work and the glorious triumph of human freedom in our land. Dazzled by the brightness which burst upon us; overwhelmed with the joy and gratitude with which we hailed the jubilant proclamation that the destruction of American Slavery was decreed by the highest law of the land, we verily thought, as we saw that giant Upas tremble, and heard the deafening crash of its fall, that leaf and twig, fruit and blossom, mighty trunk and wide-spreading root, would speedily wither and die. Now, after two years of watch-

ing and earnest effort to complete its destruction, as we see the vigor with which it strives to send new roots into the soil where it lies, as we feel the poisonous miasma with which it fills the air, we do not account our deep and loud rejoicings over its fall premature or excessive ; but do all the more heartily give thanks that the death-blow was no longer delayed.

The conflict between Slavery and Freedom which was fought with steel and fire, on fields of blood, for four years, is now transferred to another arena. In Congress and State Legislatures, in Courts, on Platforms and in Pulpits ; in our streets and market places, it is still going on. The weapons are changed ; the conflict is the same. The question which agitates this entire country is simply this : Shall the colored man possess and enjoy his freedom, and his rights as a man ; or shall he be deprived of a portion of such freedom and rights, on account of his color ? The statement of the question seems sufficient to show its absurdity, and would be so if men were not drunken with power and pride, and thus debased in intellect as well as in heart. Yet such has been the vitiating influence of slavery upon this people, that, to-day, this is the question which their *leaders* are discussing, and before which political parties stand trembling.

The progress of the cause of freedom during the past year has been marked by many events worthy

of record. We are yet so unaccustomed to the new order of things that we read with surprise as well as delight the report of public meetings of colored and white men in Savannah, in Charleston and in Columbia, assembled for the purpose of discussing questions of state and national polity. Such meetings have been held in nearly all the Southern States; and the rights of the black man have been formally, if not cheerfully, acknowledged in resolutions and addresses.

Testimony of negroes in a suit where both parties were white has been admitted in a court in Virginia for the first time, by virtue of a new law of that State. An important decision by Chief Justice Chase has set free from a new form of slavery, called apprenticeship, a certain child in Maryland, and thereby established a legal claim to freedom from similar bonds on the part of thousands of other colored children in that State.

In the City of Charleston, the right of colored persons to use the street cars has been decreed and maintained, and even in New Orleans colored men sit on a grand jury. But the most cheering indication of progress in the South is found in the character and action of the Conventions called by the people, in accordance with the Reconstruction Laws of Congress, for the purpose of forming Constitutions for the Southern States. It is true that the election of the large majorities of loyal delegates to these

Conventions was, in many instances, the result of the fact that the white aristocracy, in their pride and anger, refused to vote; but this only insured to the Conventions a higher moral tone, and threw the power of the State, for the hour, into the hands of the friends of the black man's freedom. If these aristocratic rebels should persevere in this manifestation of their dignity a few months longer, the loyal people of those States, white and black, may be able to adopt, by large majorities, Constitutions which shall acknowledge the equal right of all men, without distinction of color, to protection of law, and to citizenship. It seemed a promise for good, as well as a memorable instance of poetic justice, that the Convention of Alabama, composed as it was of judges, lawyers, planters and merchants of the State, members of her former legislatures, officers and privates of the rebel army, and colored men whom all these classes had trampled under their proud feet, held its sessions, day after day, in the very building where, seven years ago, the Confederate Congress sat and announced that slavery was the corner-stone of their new government; and defied the moral sense of the world.

We hail as cheering signs of the times the announcement that the National Anti-Slavery Standard is publicly offered for sale in Baltimore and New Orleans; that it goes regularly to these cities, and to Charleston, Richmond, Nashville, Memphis and

Mobile; that black men have been appointed to clerkships in the Custom House at New Orleans; that the National Council Union League of America demands "universal manhood suffrage;" and that many presses, both in the north and the south, echo that demand. The music of that old slave-auction bell of Beaufort, which now calls freed children to school, is ringing out a glorious promise for the future. We listen to catch its glad new tones, and while we respond with fervent thanksgiving, there is borne to us along the electric wires, the thrilling message, "Brazil is free!"

Our review of the year does not furnish so many tokens of progress in the North as we have sometimes been able to record. A victory which, in our last Annual Report, we announced as nearly won, has been accomplished. We rejoice to record the fact that our city is no longer disgraced by the exclusion of her colored citizens from her railway cars. On the 22d of March, 1867, Gov. Geary signed the bill passed by our Legislature, requiring all railroad companies in this State to carry all persons without distinction of color, and imposing a heavy penalty upon any officer or agent of such companies who should require colored persons to occupy any particular seats on account of their complexion. For the honor of Philadelphia, we regret that her religion was too corrupt or too weak to wipe out this blot upon her fame, without the interference of

State legislation. For the honor of Pennsylvania's Judiciary, we regret that the decisions and interpretations of common law were not a sufficient protection for the rights of the weak and helpless; but as the pulpit and the bench failed to enforce this simple justice, we rejoice that the legislature of the State put its hand to the work, and accomplished it so thoroughly.

We welcome, as a valuable auxiliary to the cause of freedom, The Morning Post, a daily paper established in this city within the last year. Its independent attitude towards all political parties, its just and fearless criticism of men and principles, and its brave defence of the rights of the colored man, have elevated it to a moral plane seldom occupied by a daily newspaper.

While we rejoice in every victory won, and promptly hail every new token of coming triumphs, we cannot, ought not to, overlook the fact that the spirit and temper of the Southern Rebels has not been changed by their defeat in battle. When they surrendered their cannon to Gen. Grant, they did not surrender their hearts to the just claims of their slaves, nor did they feel or say, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother." Yielding to force which they could no longer resist, they retired from that contest in sullen pride and hate, determined to renew it in another arena, as soon as possible. And they have renewed it, and are carrying it on with

the same zeal and persistency and cruelty, the same utter disregard of justice and truth that characterized their slaveholding, and made them, in their treatment of prisoners taken in war, a disgrace to civilization. This spirit and purpose is so plainly known and read of all men that it seems scarcely necessary for us to array facts in its proof.

Already, with unblushing insolence, are they appealing to the Supreme Court of the Nation for a decision against the constitutionality of the legislation of Congress, on the ground that they were not participants in it. It has been said, with great truth and force, that "it would be impossible to find another instance in history in which the promoters of an organized rebellion, having appealed to the sword, and suffered decisive defeat, have subsequently been permitted to arraign the authority of the conqueror, and plead, with all the forms of law, for the issues which they had striven to uphold on the battle-field."

They have sternly set themselves to resist all efforts to protect the freedom of the colored man; they not only deny his right to the ballot, but they loudly declare that nothing but military force shall ever induce them to submit to what they call "negro supremacy;" by which they mean the exercise of the suffrage by colored men. Towards those freedmen who attempt to exercise this right, and towards

their friends who claim it for them, these rebels "breathe out threatening and slaughter."

The *Memphis Appeal* says :

"The rescue of the South from the utter damnation that seems about to fall upon and overwhelm us all, is only to be effected by restoring the powers of the government to the hands of white men ; and *denying to the negro, now and forever, without exception or qualification, the right to vote.* To effect this only do we struggle.

"Between us and the black man there can be no other relation than that of patron and client, unless he is fool enough to make himself a danger and a nuisance in the State. If he will keep his proper place we will to the utmost of our power and influence secure to him his freedom and his civil rights, and none shall oppress or make him afraid, if we can prevent it. *If he is not content with that it may be that he will by and by have to be content with less ; and if so, he may thank those for it who have misled him.*

"To give these ignorant, stupid *sans-culottes* the right to vote in municipal affairs, and to elect the mayors and aldermen of cities, is a union of villainy and absurdity so despicable that it would provoke a sardonic smile on the countenance of Beelzebub. *To any who has given them that right we would vote nothing but a halter ; for, compared with it, robbery and murder are laudable acts and meritorious services done the Commonwealth.*"

The *Mobile Advertiser* says :

"The detestable work of the herd of adventuring scoundrels and ignorant negroes assembled at Montgomery is complete, and the 'abomination of abominations,' as it came from their hands, is to be submitted, in the shape of a monstrous thing named a constitution, to what its fiendish authors call the suffrages of the people."

The Charlottesville (Va.) *Chronicle*, comments thus on the result of the election in that State in October last :

" By Tuesday's work the negroes have set their seal to their doom. There is no longer any peace. The question now is, who shall occupy and rule the territory between forty and thirty-two degrees north latitude—the blacks or the whites."

The *Lynchburg Virginian*, on the same occasion, utters a similar threat :

" It only remains for the white people of Virginia to look to their interest and labor to protect it. They should concert measures without delay to fill the State with white laborers from the North and from Europe. *They must crowd the negro out.* They must rid the state of an element that will hinder its prosperity; an element that, under the influence of base white demagogues—themselves without property—would tax the property of others to relieve themselves of obligation to educate their children and care for their paupers."

The *Lynchburg News* recommends the persecution of the freedmen of Virginia in the following language :

" We are gratified to learn that one hundred and fifty negroes, employed at the Wythe Iron Mines, all of whom voted the straight-out Radical ticket, were discharged on Tuesday by the owner of the works. This is precisely the step which every employer should take."

The *Petersburg (Va.) Index* joins the merciless hunt, and cries :

" Send them adrift unhesitatingly. Let them learn how

unsatisfactory are the husks upon which the Radicals would have them feed. They will soon weary of the diet, and then, when they have proved repentance, let them return and be assisted in their efforts to become worthy people. But the offence has been grievous, and the penance should be severe, and the conversion must be proved by works. Until it is established they should be shunned as enemies."

"Let no man sleep under your roof, break your bread, drink of your cup, who has spoken at the polls in favor of that party which would despoil your house, embitter your crust with slavery, and fill your cup with the poison of humiliation."

These are specimens of the teachings of the Southern press, and after reading them we are not surprised when an eye-witness in Alabama writes: "The persecution here is frightful. No Northern men can believe it. You have nothing of the kind by which you can make any comparison." Nor are we greatly astonished by the statement that in the South, "since the surrender in 1865, over eight thousand loyal white and black men have been wantonly murdered, and no efforts made by the civil authorities to arrest and punish the murderers." This spirit of slavery, for such it is, incited a furious mob to assault and attempt to take the life of Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, while he was addressing a meeting of citizens in Mobile.

Of its recent manifestations in Tennessee, Captain Kirk, commander of a company of State Guards, stationed in Madison County, writing to

Gen. Cooper, says : " No union man, black or white, can live here in peace and safety." At Jackson, in that State, a thousand armed men took possession of the polls, on the day of the election in September, drove away the State Militia, seized the certificates of the Freedmen, overawed the judges of the election and drove the commissioners from the town.

From Kentucky similar testimony comes. A friend of the colored people writes from Evansville, Indiana, to a religious paper in the North :

" We read, almost daily, of murders, arsons, and robberies perpetrated against the rights of colored persons in the Southern States ; but there are outrages perpetrated in the State of Kentucky, of which as yet nothing has been published. I refer to the fact that colored persons, mostly children and youth, *are held as slaves* in that State." " These children are not called slaves, (this is an ugly word) but apprentices. To all intents and purposes they are slaves ; only they are treated, if possible, with greater cruelty than they were before the war." " All along this Ohio river border are parents whose children are thus held in bondage in Kentucky. Many of the fathers were soldiers in the Union army ; and they dare not venture across the river after their children."

Gen. Grant's Report as Secretary of War, stated that "*apprenticeship* in Maryland still holds large numbers of colored children in virtual slavery. The evils and cruelties resulting from this system, sanctioned by the State laws, are matters of constant complaint. As many as two thousand cases have been presented in a single county."

It is to be hoped that the decision of Chief Justice Chase on one of these cases, which we have cited, will be applied for the emancipation of these "thousands."

In keeping with such manifestations of spirit and purpose, is the law which was passed by the Legislature of Louisiana about a year ago, providing for public schools for white children of the city of Baton Rouge, and enacting that no property within the limits of that city should be taxed for the support of "*any other school*." These are the people who demand that the Freedmen's Bureau shall be abolished, who persecute to the extent of their power the teachers of the Freedmen's Associations, and who accuse the negro of stupidity and ignorance. But their fear of the power of the North and the increasing intelligence of the negroes of the South, keeps pace with their wrath; and they are already seeking fresh victims for their tyranny when those whom they have so long oppressed shall be wholly rescued from their grasp. The U. S. Vice Consul at Havana has informed our government that he has reason to believe "that an extensive scheme is on foot for the introduction of Coolie labor in the South." And these wretched creatures have actually been brought from Cuba to New Orleans, and are employed on the plantations of Louisiana.

This record of evidence that our Nation is not

yet converted to the love of justice, is not wholly confined to the South. There is a long list of outrages on the rights of the colored man, which cannot be attributed to the rage of a defeated army and a conquered people. The people of the North, who owe their victory on the battle-field, and, consequently, their national existence to-day to the aid of their colored soldiery, are guilty of acts of injustice and meanness towards those loyal and magnanimous coadjutors, which we blush to record. During the last year, the voters of Ohio have rejected a State Constitutional Amendment which their Legislature had proposed, which would have given to colored men the power to exercise their right of suffrage. Kansas followed the bad example, and stained her name with the same deed of injustice. New Jersey, by her Legislature, was in advance of both, in adding to her shame by voting to continue the disfranchisement of her colored citizens. The resolution which proposed to establish negro suffrage was defeated by a majority of fifteen members, of whom *thirteen were Republicans*. In the results of the October and November elections, the Republican Party reaped a bitter harvest of their own sowing. The ballots which would have saved them from defeat they had, in their pride or their cowardice, withheld from the hands of their colored fellow-citizens. No wonder that a shout of joy and a yell of defiance went up from all Rebeldom in re-

sponse to the returns of those elections. No wonder that they insulted Ohio and Pennsylvania by congratulating one another that these States "lie between Massachusetts and Louisiana;" and exclaimed, in their joy, "As to the black suffrage question, both parties, Democratic and Radical, met in common accord to wipe it out." And in proportion to the aid and comfort which the results of these elections furnished the rebels in the South, were the difficulties which they placed in the path of her few loyal sons who are struggling to save her from utter ruin, and to secure to her colored population the freedom which she is madly striving to wrest from their eager grasp.

The same spirit which withholds the ballot from the colored man, prompted the cruel decision of Judge Agnew, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the case of the Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad Company *versus* Mary E. Miles. This decision sustained the Company in forcibly ejecting a colored person from their cars, because she claimed and exercised the same right to choose a seat which is claimed and exercised by white travellers; and refused to occupy a seat designated as proper for colored persons. The opinion delivered by the Judge is equally remarkable for the sophistry by which he endeavors to enforce his decision, and the cruelty with which he taunts our colored citizens with their exclusion from civil and political offices.

Happily, the act of our Legislature at its last session (subsequent to the commencement of this suit, which was carried by appeal to our Supreme Court) prevents the recurrence of such judicial wrong; but the odium of this injustice will cling to our Supreme Court, and especially to Judge Agnew, until they shall obliterate its memory by "works meet for repentance."

We notice, with surprise and sorrow, that one or two members of our State Legislature seem to be seeking odious notoriety by proposing the repeal of the law which opened our city cars to the use of the colored people. At the opening of the session, Mr. Wallace, of Clearfield Co., proposed, in the Senate, an act repealing the act of March 22, 1867; and, at a somewhat later period, Mr. Deise, of Clinton Co., reported to the House, from the Judiciary Committee, the following bill:

"Be it enacted, That the act approved March 22d, 1867, entitled 'An act making it an offence to exclude negroes from railroad cars,' is hereby repealed."

This bill was immediately referred back to the Judiciary Committee, by a vote of forty-two ayes (Republican) and thirty-nine nays (Democrats). On the same day, Mr. Deise reported, from the Committee, another bill prohibiting negroes from riding in our cars. Mr. Mann, of Potter Co., stated that "the majority of the Committee had not agreed to the bill; but that the Democrats who were on the Com-

mittee had happened to find themselves in power, in consequence of the necessary absence of some of the Republicans." He thought that the bill ought to be recommitted, and this was done. We do not believe that our Legislature will enact this injustice by statute, or that it will withdraw from the victims of a cruel and vulgar prejudice the protection which it extended to them a year ago. For the honor of our State, and for the sake of justice, we call upon them to go forward in the work thus begun, and abolish the odious distinctions of race and color, which are still made in our public schools. It is time that Pennsylvania should cease from the dishonesty and meanness of taxing a portion of her citizens for the support of high schools and schools of other grades to which they are not permitted to send their own children.

This cursory view of the present condition of our country will help us to estimate the dangers which threaten our cause, as well as to mark the triumphs which it has achieved. No one can overlook the danger which confronts the freedman in the determined purpose of his quondam master to reduce him to some form of slavery; for this is an obvious peril, though by no means the greatest. The combatants, defeated on Southern battle-fields and put to flight at Gettysburg, might be easily vanquished in the new arena where they have marshalled their forces, if the zeal and courage of the whole North

would oppose to them as solid a front now as it did then. Nor in that case should we be much alarmed by the rebellious spirit of the Border States, displayed in Maryland's demand for compensation for her slaves, and Delaware's veto (uttered through her Supreme Court) of the Civil Rights bill of the last Congress, and Kentucky's heavy majorities in favor of the enemies of freedom. The exorcism of the demon of slavery is necessarily attended by struggles such as these.

But there are other dangers which, perhaps, we did not anticipate, and which we must calmly look in the face. One of these is the action and present attitude of the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of the Chief Justice, in April last, which recognized the rights of States which had rebelled and seceded from the Federal Government, to enter suits as States before that Court, alarmed all thoughtful friends of freedom. From present indications there is reason to fear that this Court, if not prevented by Congress, will be induced by Andrew Johnson to declare the Reconstruction laws of that body unconstitutional. Another source of danger to our cause and our country is the defection from high principle and the timidity of the Republican party. The comment of the venerable Thaddeus Stevens upon the results of the Fall elections, was: "The Republicans have been acting a most cowardly part, and have met a coward's fate." It seems

as though a moderate degree of intelligence was sufficient to convince that ~~any~~ that its strength lay in its fidelity to the rights of the colored man, and that no course could be so nearly fatal to itself as the attempt to occupy a neutral position, or to adopt halfway measures, relative to the question which is agitating the whole country. Yet, notwithstanding the entreaties of their Southern allies, that they would not fail to secure the establishment of equal political rights throughout the Union; notwithstanding the earnest warnings of some of the most prominent members of the party, that they would be defeated on any other platform, and the pathetic appeals for justice from the colored defenders of the nation's life, the majority of the party have shrunk from boldly meeting this issue. The Union League of this city contents itself with admitting the necessity of negro suffrage in the South, and lacks either the justice or the courage to demand it for the colored man of the North. The apparent willingness of the party to nominate for the Presidency a man whose moral and political principles are almost unknown, because he is regarded as an available candidate, is an indication of moral weakness, which is severely rebuked by the noble reply of the colored men in Virginia to an agent of the Republican Congressional Committee, who endeavored to convince them that if they voted for a certain Radical candidate they would suffer defeat: "We will take defeat with

this man rather than victory with a man we cannot trust." The party might have learned a valuable lesson from the result of the election in Tennessee, last summer, when they triumphed by the aid of the votes of freedmen, whom no threats could terrify and no bribes or flatteries win to the opposite party. But as only honest men learn that "honesty is the best policy," so only just men learn that justice is the highest expediency.

The Proceedings of the Fortieth Congress thus far enable us to form an estimate of the moral strength of the leaders of the Republican party, and consequently of the degree of confidence which abolitionists may safely repose in them. At the date of our last Annual Report we were looking, hopefully and anxiously, for such prompt and efficient action from this body as should correct the mistakes and supply the deficiencies of the Thirty-Ninth Congress. Especially did we, in common with a large part of the nation, look to them to impeach and depose the traitor President, Andrew Johnson. They assembled and adjourned twice before the Judiciary Committee of the House, to whom was referred the duty of examining the charges on which Mr. Ashley had impeached the President, were read, to make their report. On the 25th of November that Committee reported that, in their opinion, Andrew Johnson was "guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors," and ought to be impeached by the House. After long

and earnest discussion, during which his violations of law, his defiance of the authority of Congress, and his active sympathy with rebels against the Government, were clearly set forth, the vote of the House was taken, on the 7th of December, upon the question of his impeachment, and the result was, ayes 57, nays 108, sixty-five Republicans voting in the negative.

Thus, after a long and spirited conflict with the President, consisting of rigid legislation on one side, responded to by vetoes on the other; laws promptly enacted over his vetoes, and met by his obstinate refusal to execute them; arrogant and insolent threats from the Executive, and much brave talking by the legislators, Congress surrendered to Andrew Johnson. What defence those sixty-five Republicans have to offer for this cowardly betrayal of a people's trust the nation waits to hear. For any defence which will satisfy hearts loyal to freedom, it will wait in vain. Those members of Congress who zealously advocated the impeachment of the President, and earnestly labored to accomplish it, will be remembered and honored as true patriots, who scorned to sacrifice their country's prosperity to schemes of personal ambition or party success.

Much of the legislation of the Fortieth Congress has been eminently favorable to freedom, and that fact excited hope that that body would not fail to provide for the execution of its laws. Very early in

its first session a joint resolution was passed by both Houses suspending all proceedings in reference to payment for slaves drafted or received as volunteers in the military service of the United States. In July, a bill providing that persons in the District of Columbia shall be eligible to office, without distinction of race or color, was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Sumner, was passed by both Houses, and sent to the President for his signature. Within the next ten days Congress adjourned, and the bill thus failed to become a law. On the 21st of November, the first day of the present session, Mr. Sumner asked leave to introduce an exact copy of this bill, and in December it was again passed by both Houses. The adjournment for the holidays left this unfortunate bill again in the President's pocket; and when the Senate reassembled the question whether or not it had become a law by the President's failure to return it, was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and has not yet been answered.

In March, 1867, a bill was passed by large majorities in both Houses, providing for the election of delegates to Conventions to be held in the South, for the purpose of forming State Constitutions. This bill required that all male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years of age should be registered as voters for such delegates, in their respective counties or parishes. The President, true to his rebel sympathies, vetoed this bill, and it immediately

became a law by the requisite two-thirds majorities in both Houses. In July another Supplementary Reconstruction Bill, of great importance, was passed, which received from Andrew Johnson the same characteristic response, and by the prompt action of Congress became a law in the usual way. This bill invested the General of the U. S. Army with all powers of suspension, removal, appointment and detail of all civil and military officers in the disloyal states ; and gave the same authority (subject to the approval of the General) to District Commanders. In December, the House, in response to that portion of the President's Message which recommended the repeal of the Reconstruction laws, passed a Resolution affirming their necessity, and pledging itself never "to take one retrograde step from its advanced position in promoting the cause of equal rights, nor to deviate from its fixed purpose of protecting all men as equal before the law." In January, 1868, the Reconstruction Committee reported, and the House adopted, another bill, limiting the power of the President, and requiring the General of the Army to enforce all the provisions of the Reconstruction laws. This bill is now pending in the Senate. Still more radical measures have been proposed in Congress, and attempts made to secure the freedom of the colored man from the violence or cunning of his enemies, by the protection of the Federal Constitution. Resolutions and

a bill have been introduced and referred to the Judiciary Committees, proposing an amendment to the U. S. Constitution, which should declare that all *persons* born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside; and making all such citizens electors.

Thus has Congress sought to fetter by legislation the power of the President as much as possible. A far wiser and more manly course would have been to impeach and depose him, and thus relieve the Nation, wholly and forever, from his treasonable machinations. All their vigilance and ingenuity will fail to counteract wholly his evil influence; for while he is permitted to occupy the office of President, the Constitution of the United States makes it impossible for Congress to legislate him out of power.

Thus far, the Fortieth, like the Thirty-ninth Congress, has failed to perform the important work which the Nation had a right to expect from it. It has neither deposed Andrew Johnson,* nor adopted a proposed Amendment to the Federal Constitution securing the freedom of the colored man of the South by establishing his right of suffrage. All that it has done by legislation may be undone if it shall be left

* Since this Report was presented, Andrew Johnson has been impeached by the House of Representatives.

unsecured by the Constitutional seal. Its record is not yet complete; and we will hope that before its adjournment it will do this deed of justice to the millions of our freedmen, and win the benediction of all true friends of liberty.

During the past year twenty-one States have ratified the Constitutional Amendment noticed in our last report, which provides for the reduction of the basis of representation, in any State, in proportion to the number of male citizens over twenty-one years of age, who shall be denied the right of suffrage by the State; and on the 11th of January, a Resolution declaring this Amendment valid was introduced in the Senate, and referred to the Judiciary Committee.

It is due to the colored people of the South that we should record the fact that, during this transition period from slavery to freedom, their conduct has been marked by wisdom and patience which was scarcely to be expected from a long-enslaved people. All that the persecutions, the taunts, and the predictions of their enemies could do to provoke them to violence, was done, but to the disappointment of fierce Southern editors who had reiterated their loud alarms, the uprisings never came, and the victims of their hate patiently wait and trust that the Government will do them justice. Abundant testimony in their favor is borne by impartial witnesses in the South, by Judge Underwood in Virginia, and Judge

Fraser in Florida, the latter of whom testifies to the admirable manner in which some of these newly emancipated slaves performed the duties of jurymen. With unswerving fidelity they have cast their votes (when allowed to use the ballot) for the true friends of freedom, unawed by threats and unseduced by bribes, which were freely used to win their votes for the opposing candidates, or to deter them from casting them in favor of their friends. Thus they have fully disproved the charge that they had not sufficient intelligence to discern between the claims of opposing candidates. We have the testimony of the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, that the majority of recipients of their bounty are not colored persons. It is a rare thing for a President of the United States to bestow honors or offices upon men of the proscribed complexion. But when Andrew Johnson offered the position of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau to three Northern colored men, successively, they instantly fathomed his motive and scorned to become his tools.

Our annual retrospect and inquiry into the present condition of our great cause necessarily leads us to the contemplation of the work before us. The gigantic system of American slavery, which laid its foundations so deep and reared its battlements so high that it defied the moral forces of the nineteenth century, has been overthrown by those forces, amidst the convulsions of war; and beneath its mighty ruins

the Republic is struggling for its life, and the freedmen for the full realization and security of their freedom. The spirit of slavery still lives in our land, and wages a fierce conflict with the spirit of liberty. On the side of the former are the disappointed rebels of the South and the Democratic party of the North. On the side of the latter are all the hearts that beat in sympathy with justice, all the noble instincts of humanity, all the strength which inheres in a righteous cause. The contest may be fierce and long, but who can doubt the result? There is little danger that slavery, by its true name, can ever be restored in this nation. The North would spring to arms to prevent that; the South is too sagacious to attempt it. And if the anti-slavery men and women of the country stand faithfully at their posts, and vigilantly perform their duty, the frantic efforts to restore it under other names, and to rob the freedman of the very essence of his freedom, which now convulse the South, will be utterly defeated, and the world shall behold the American slave standing up a MAN, full-panoplied with all the defences of an American citizen.

The contest will not cease, and our work will not be done, until his freedom is thus established and secured beyond peril. All theories of reconstruction which fail to provide for this, will fail to secure peace for the nation. The true Christian, the true patriot, must demand without ceasing that the black man's right to defend his freedom by the ballot shall be

secured to him by the Federal Constitution, and not left to the poor protection of the laws or Constitutions of restored rebel States. One of the great daily journals of the North,—a newspaper which, from the commencement of the anti-slavery enterprise, manifested an intense hatred to it, and which annually used to supply inspiration to the mobs which assaulted our meetings,—has recently renewed the old cry that politics do not belong to the pulpit. No true minister of the Gospel, in the pulpit or out, will be moved by the adjurations or frightened by the ridicule of such editors. When it is a part of a nation's politics to oppress a large portion of its citizens, it is the especial duty of *Christian* ministers to cry aloud in rebuke of such wrong. In a country where the people compose both the church and the government, if they do not inspire their politics with their religion, they are unfaithful to their religion; and if such inspiration does not exorcise the iniquity of oppressing the weak, their religion is of little worth.

In pursuance of our work which events so clearly mark out for us, we use and trust our old instrumentalities. We seek to promote a correct public sentiment, and inspire zeal for righteousness in the hearts of the people, by publishing and proclaiming the truth, and the just demands of the colored man. Our chief agency in this work is the National Anti-Slavery Standard, to sustain and circulate which our labors are principally devoted. Of the copies of this

journal which we have circulated during the past year, a large number have been sent to Southern men, and to teachers of the freedmen. We receive frequent testimonies to the value and usefulness of the paper, from persons to whom it is sent.

The Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Festival, held under the direction of our own and the State Society, was a pleasant and profitable reunion of abolitionists, and it resulted in pecuniary success.

To all who are working, in our own or in other fields, heartily and faithfully, to complete the enfranchisement and promote the elevation of the millions for whom we labor, we cordially extend our fraternal greeting. In the work which remains to be done we press hopefully forward, encouraged by the rich experience of the past, the trophies of glorious victories all around us, and the brightness with which faith gilds the future. At the close of each year we mark the vacant places which the death-angel has made in our ranks. Of our own members, the oldest* and the youngest have passed away since our last anniversary. One whose fidelity to anti-slavery principles, and unabated interest in them, even in extreme age, will long be remembered by those who knew her well; and one who craved the privilege of laying a child's offering on the altar of the slave's freedom. And the year has borne away from us

* Mrs. Elizabeth Le B. Wright.

three faithful coadjutors who witnessed the inauguration of our enterprise, and who, at nearly fourscore years of age, stood honored patriarchs in our ranks.* The memory of their disinterested and untiring labors for humanity are their monuments in our hearts. By the death of one of these veterans of our host,† the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has lost its beloved and venerated President, with whose presence and counsels it has been blessed for so many years. The summons of his Lord found him at his post of duty, and he received it as a welcome to his home. While we deeply mourn our loss, we will cherish the great bequest of his Christian example. Of him it shall be remembered that, when the flying slave was hunted through our streets, his doors were ever open to shelter the poor outcast from sympathy; that when the cupidity of the market-place and the cowardice of the church suffered Pennsylvania to be the hunting-ground of kidnappers, he was always found, steadfast and brave, by the side of the helpless victim, an earnest champion and sympathizing friend. To his large heart human suffering never appealed in vain. To his quick sense of justice the sophistry of wrong was clearly exposed, and in his presence selfishness and meanness stood abashed. Walking in his steps, it is ours to finish the work which he began and faithfully continued. The hour of its consummation, we

* James Mott, Isaac Winslow, Jacob Peirce.

† James Mott.

trust, is at hand. Then shall mingle with the last notes of our jubilee song, fervent thanksgivings that upon us was bestowed the high privilege of being workers in the grandest moral reform of the nineteenth century.

*Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in Account with
ANNIE SHOEMAKER, Treasurer.*

2d mo., 1867.	DR.
To Subscription to National Anti-Slavery Standard (50 copies)	\$150 00
" Donation to Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.....	100 00
" Rent of room for Annual Meeting.....	2 00
" Rent of room for Stated Meetings.....	9 00
" Printing Annual Report.....	47 75
" Advertising Annual Meeting	3 40
" Expenses of Festival, 1st mo., 1867.....	8 00
2d mo., 1868. Balance in Treasury.....	318 06
 Total.....	 \$638 21

2d mo., 1867.	CR.
By Balance in Treasury.....	\$408 21
" Members' Subscriptions	71 00
" Contribution from M. L. D.....	4 00
" Festival of 1st mo., 1867.....	5 00
" "Festival of 11th mo., 1867.....	150 00
 Total	 \$638 21.

* The Festival was held under the joint auspices of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and the Female Anti-Slavery Society; the greater part of the proceeds were given directly to the American Anti-Slavery Society.